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Mutilation and metaphor: managing the Monongah dead*

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ABSTRACT

This article documents the use of metaphor in coordinating 'backstage' responses to the greatest mine disaster in US history, which left hundreds dead, and many were mutilated beyond recognition. The use of metaphor is illustrated in the handling of the dead, from the point of discovery of carnage in the mines through to burial, including 'identification' of unrecognizable bodies and body parts – a system of actions that remained unintelligible for over a century. This research illustrates the importance of emergent, unprescribed, furtive, and coordinated actions in responding to an unexpected and catastrophic incident. Discussion suggests the general import of emergent order for systems of domination in history, command economies, and rational-legal administrations, including organized responses to mass death.

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Introduction

Research on practices attendant to the dead body, from prehistoric burial patterns to contemporary commodification of body parts, provides knowledge from corpse to culture.[1] Work focused on responses to mass death in war, genocide, and catastrophic accident is also informative, imaginative, and analytic, providing cultural understandings from 'dismembering' and 're-membering' to memorials and commemorative architecture.[2] Yet, this research is challenged by mass death's immediate aftermath, which is often revealed through descriptions of gore, dismembered and unidentifiable dead, unceremonious treatment of bodies and body parts, horror, shock, and pandemonium.[3] Although some such portrayals are surely needed, accounts of responses to dead bodies provide more description and anecdote than documentation and analysis. Accounts of historical industrial disasters, also, depict chaos, carnage, and erratic actions, unaccompanied by critical examination of emergent and coordinated responses to mass death (Dilley 1900, Chapter VI; Todd 1957; Greenwald 2002, 59–66; McAteer 2007, Chapters 9–11).[4] The coal mining industry, in particular, has experienced numerous underground explosions, followed by seeming confusion in aftermath activities, suggesting little organizational learning – or faulty scrutiny of coordinated responses to disaster (Humphrey 1960).[5] This absence of analytic research abets an uncritical narrative of organizational progress, where partially identified, but assuredly primitive, practices have been changed, or repudiated following developments in law, technology, and administration.[6] In contrast, this article reveals the management of dead bodies from a 1907 mine disaster that entailed emergent and unprescribed actions, whose coordination, coherence, and covertness were enabled by tacit understandings among workers and supervisors – a not uncommon pattern in contemporary organizations facing unexpected contingencies, including mass death.

Core regimes in rational-legal order – law, technology, and professional control – are so dominant that unprescribed actions or groups operative in their domains are often avoided, poorly

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*'What a different result one gets by changing the metaphor!' George Eliot.

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conceptualized, or denied.[7] For example, field workers in disaster research initially ignored responses by 'emergent groups', whose functioning may have been 'crucial' (Quarantelli and Dynes, 1977, 31–32).[8] Domination by formal organizations not only affects perceptions of 'emergent groups' but also understandings of sanctioned actions. Indeed, authorized concealment is integral to rational-legal control in many domains, from hospital operating rooms to underground recovery in mines (Katz 1977). Discretion or – to be blunt – stealth has become particularly important in mobilizing responses to mass death: barricading access to the death site, to dead bodies, to observation of actions taken with dead bodies, and to information (Committee 1981, 75).[9] License to conceal actions grants license to explain hidden actions – in historical as well as contemporaneous events. However, responses to mass death that predate modern regulatory regimes are often ignored, described in cursory ways, or simply treated as precursors to modern techniques. Influential accounts distinguish and validate modern controls; they rarely explicate the evolution of past and primitive organizational practices, such as the long-term and integral place of stealth in managing responses to mass death (Aldrich 1995; Interpol 2009; Morgan, Tidball-Binz, and van Alphen 2009). Historical observations also suffer from consequences of exclusion, mandates of secrecy, and official interpretations – particularly for coal mine disasters. Moreover, primary sources present a major problem when responses to mass industrial death were under company control: investigations were perfunctory, and documents often unavailable or not robust. Research on historic cases cannot easily be supplemented by interviews, participant observation, or ethnomethodology, methods commonly used to disclose what may not normally be revealed. These considerations seem to 'close the door' on work consonant with much research since Gareth Morgan's *Images of Organization* and the 'linguistic turn': to document actors with 'agentic understanding', who define contexts, use 'analogical reasoning', communicate meaning, and coordinate actions; to substantiate processes whereby 'these enactments are shaped and transformed'; and to exploit 'the value and potential of metaphor', with its 'powerful sense-making, sense-giving and meaning-instilling' role 'in shaping attitudes, behavior and understanding' – all critical for understanding emergent order in responding to contingencies of mass industrial death (Oswick, Keenoy, and Grant 2002, 294; Gabriel, Geiger, and Letiche 2011, 368; Riad 2011, 376; Arman 2014, 24).[10] It is not surprising, given the limitations imposed by historic, poorly documented, company-managed responses, and the absence of an 'organizational imagination', that most accounts of company-organized responses to mass death – at least for coal mine explosions – attempt to make organized actions cogent through guesswork, suspicion, and legend.[11]

From the mid-nineteenth century, increasing concentrations of capital, conflict with labor, and incidents of mass death in the mines (often believed to result from company negligence) engendered suspicions of nefarious behavior, especially with company monopoly in managing dead bodies and in controlling records; these suspicions often hardened into beliefs that many miners who died were not reported.[12] Such suspicions marked many coal mine disasters, including the greatest in US history, when explosions ripped through two interconnected mines on the morning of 6 December 1907 in Monongah, West Virginia, leaving hundreds dead and much detached, splattered, and unrecoverable flesh. Although body-identification technology did not allow matching pieces of remains to a particular person, astonishingly, all of the hundreds of miners reported dead were officially identified and buried. This result festered in legend for good reason; conventional accounts mistrusted, but did not explain, the organization of body-identification. Scraps of unidentified human matter were assembled, carted, and eventually given Italian, Polish, and American names; unrecognizable corpses, pieces of bodies, and human bits were first buried, then identified; unidentified bodies, or body parts, were named, but then those names were used to identify other remains. The underlying logic of these seemingly bizarre actions and results eluded explanation, and myth prevailed for over a hundred years.[13] To decipher what transpired at Monongah, this article takes up the challenge of explaining these phenomena by using primary sources, a 'linguistic turn' that deploys a master metaphor, and insight gained from organizational work on institutional dilemmas and surreptitious orders.[14]

Research has long shown that deep-seated institutional dilemmas may be accommodated discretely through tacit understandings and situationally negotiated decisions, rules, and actions (Goffman

1959; Skolnick 1966; Levy 1970; Kozminski and Tropea 1982; Tropea and Sterniczuk 1988; Tropea 1991). When actions and their results cannot be explained by authorized procedures, a 'backstage' order may be suspected. This concept seems warranted for management of the Monongah dead, where obliteration of bodies was a deep-seated dilemma that shaped coordinated action. Both whole cadavers and splattered flesh are often found after mine disasters. While an intact corpse permits mourning, unidentified carnage gives death no referent, grief no anchor. Yet both identified cadaver and fragmented flesh are awaited by mourners as an entire body.[15] In mine disasters that entail mass death, this core dilemma invariably challenges recovery and burial workers – and researchers. Unlike many other company-led responses to mine explosions, records of the Monongah disaster are archived and robust.[16] These primary sources document the system that developed to manage bodies, from discovery to identification and burial. Using them, this research shows how metaphor functioned to moderate the core dilemma and to direct coordinated actions; the result is a coherent interpretation of puzzling outcomes in the Monongah disaster. This work also shows the place of ethnicity, gender, and language in allowing unidentifiable flesh to acquire a name, a history to be confused, and a miner to marry after his burial.

Body pieces, identification, and sham

On 6 December 1907, explosions in Fairmont Coal Company's Mines 6 and 8 in Monongah, West Virginia, killed 361 men and boys, mainly transnational migrants, including an errant Polish child and 170 Italians (West Virginia Legislature 1909, 396; MMRC Archives; MMRC *History* 1910; Tropea 2013b).[17] At 10:30 am that day the coroner heard a 'heavy report' and 'immediately went to the place of the explosion and found something awful' (*Coroner's 1908*, 104). He saw above-ground effects of explosive power, but not the lives obliterated down in the mines. Graphic and horrific descriptions of the underground effects were offered by a company engineer:

> The heat left by the explosion was intense, and the stench from the decaying bodies of men and carcasses of horses and mules, with the necessarily poor ventilation, made the work at times almost unbearable … . All bodies of men employed on the main haulways had been blown to pieces … The entries in practically all cases showed evidence of extreme violence, one body being blown against the face of a heading with such force that it was mashed flat and left sticking to the coal … on this entry four bodies were found blown to pieces … the wreck of a motor and loaded trip was encountered; the motorman had been blown to pieces and parts of his body imbedded in the machinery. The brakeman was found along the entry, his arms, legs, and head blown off … on another heading pieces of a horse were scattered for a distance of 500 feet, torn so badly that the remains had to be gathered together with a shovel. (Haas 1908, 13, 9, and 14)[18]

There are normative limits to the use of descriptions when bodies are 'mutilated so horribly that to describe their condition would be inexcusable' (Mure in Larson 2015, 181). The language used to describe the discovered horrors – the dismembered cartilage, bones, flesh, and smashed bits – could not be employed where 'there were weeping fathers and mothers, wailing wives, and sobbing little children' (Neely 1952, 4876). Nor was there any imperative for continuing a descriptive language of mutilation in managing the dead, quite the contrary. Such language was inappropriate for the reverential gathering, assembling, shrouding, identifying, and burying of remains, as well as for the ears of the bereaved. For recovery workers and waiting audience, body needed a language of remembered form, not its corruption (Image 1).

Even though its referent was a splattered mess, body continued backstage as metaphor, as 'body'. 'Body' was emotionally essential, socially respectful, and administratively rational; 'body' entailed tacit understandings in the mines and conjured remembered whole, not foul fragments, both in recovery work and above ground, where flesh without integrity challenged civility. In Monongah, 'body', not carnage, was collected, covered, and carried from mine to surface. This use of 'body' was a ritualized, shared, pretense, obliquely noted at the time: 'from every pore of earth there rose a white cloud which wrapped old objects in new meanings' (Kellogg 1908, 1314) (Image 2). While successful performance of deception – concealing parts and pretending wholes – requires harmonies of culture,

Image 1. Waiting.

trust, and language, these did not resound in Monongah. The company-administered performance could not convince *vedove* or *wdowy* (widows) and *madri* or *matki* (mothers). When unrecognizable carnage was imposed as 'body' on a newly made *vedova* or distraught *madre*, the foreign and male-directed illusion was confusing, capricious, and painful (Tropea, 2013a). The harried actions, in the performance of sham, provoked confusion, anger, division, and – with post-burial deposits of fetid flesh in the Catholic cemetery – jaded myths and histories (Tropea, 2013b). Still, the managing of sordid flesh appeared largely capable: mine men showed commitment to recovery and some lost their lives in the process; a formal hearing cleared the company of culpability for the explosions; a respected report on the company's actions depicted rationale and thoroughness, including methods used for identifying dead miners (MMRC; *Coroner's*, 1908; Haas 1908). These two disparate and disjointed narratives – company capriciousness and company competence – are made one through primary sources and analysis of 'body' in managing the dead.

Bits to 'body'

Identifying bodies of the dead is a core emotional, administrative, and political objective. But, as in many mine disasters, the Monongah explosions provided too many indistinguishable bits and pieces, too many lost miners, too much decay, and too much publicity for deliberative or prolonged

Image 2. Shrouded.

responses. When pieces of flesh were scraped together in portable form, they were labeled 'unknown' or 'unidentifiable' – metaphors implicating a whole body. While symbolically vital, body metaphors were logistically untenable unless managed within a furtive and disciplined system. Random carnage, as well as intact cadavers, were gathered, wrapped or 'sheathed', taken to the surface, transported to a provisional morgue, embalmed or otherwise prepared, placed in pine, named then buried or buried then named – or simply inserted into the ground unnamed. This convoluted, mixed, and confused movement of 'body' was managed backstage with increasing coordination and collusion. Although not suggested in authoritative documents that described procedures of recovery in the mines – a man 'placed a tag on each body giving all available information that might assist in identification' – metaphor replaced mutilation early on (Haas 1908, 11). While backstage management mingled the metaphoric and literal, social construction and physical substance, the deceptive and the accurate, front-stage script was steadfast in duplicitousness: 'As soon as a body was located it was disinfected with a solution of carbolic acid … and properly marked with all available information to aid in identification' (Haas 1908, 12). Though unrecognized in official descriptions, metaphor mobilized labor in nuanced ways in the mines and would do likewise for labor in the morgue.

Abandoning procedures and sheathing 'body'

An assertive fiction continued in descriptions of procedures at the morgue, under the direction of the coroner's office:

> As each body was placed on a work table it was given a number … A record of each body was kept both by the coroner of the county and by the company … As the bodies were undressed care was taken to find and preserve every article found in the clothes or on the body; these articles were turned over to the coroner and the names and descriptions entered on the records. By means of the cards attached to the bodies by the rescuers showing where they were found, the articles found on the bodies, the peculiar markings and the familiarity of the payroll clerks with the men, most of the bodies that were not too badly mangled were identified. (Haas 1908, 15)[19]

This body mantra, from the 'best single source on the Monongah disaster' (Lockard 1998, 212), provides a description of what was intended at the morgue, not what occurred. The personal articles, body marks, and corpse locations – 'keys', 'knife', 'heavy leather belt', 'match box', 'small leather belt', 'pipe', '2nd finger left hand blunt', 'right finger off second joint', 'South Face left at neck of room 10', 'R. Main heading 200 down' – claimed to be used in identification were abandoned early on (*Coroner's* 1908, 104–105). The coroner's report shows sporadic use of such identifiers until even that use was stopped when less than 14% of the reported dead arrived at the morgue; these identifiers were used for only 20 of the dead, less than 6% of the total eventually reported (*Coroner's* 1908, 104–108).

These changes do not refute sanctioned procedures or the diligence of the coroner's office. Rather, they suggest the dire exigencies that drove subscriptions to the 'body' metaphor, the subterranean collusion and acumen that nurtured the metaphor, and the resilience it provided for backstage management of the dead. After all, sanctioned procedures warrant application unless proved futile. Consequently, abandoning identification procedures at Monongah's makeshift morgue shows an ability to change in the face of repeated identification failures, which loomed large with many more remains expected. However, even recognizing that many of the identifiers had been scattered in the explosions, stopping the use of personal articles, physical markers, and carcass locations in identifying the dead was no easy matter. Ceasing the use of even faulty indicators signified abandoning a core and sanctioned element in managing the dead. It meant workers in the morgue were left with unidentified remains, no likely witnesses, and no prescribed direction – not unlike the men who first discovered scattered flesh in the mines. Inertia and futility in the morgue ended, when unidentified remains were sheathed as 'body' – as they had been gathered as 'body' in the mines. Sheathing suggests hygiene and civility, but in the morgue it also indicated backstage understandings

among mine men and medical men. Discarded procedures, subscriptions to 'body', and backstage collusions in decisions, rules, and actions were not, of course, revealed in authoritative descriptions of procedures. Nor were they subsequently investigated. They did not inform the critiques of recovery work in Monongah, which were made from suspicion, speculation, and botched information (Lockard 1998, 64–65; McAteer 2007, 218–241; Tropea 2008). While metaphor, tacit understandings, and negotiated procedures aided handling remains in mine and morgue, there was no strategy for identifying the dead.

Backstage work culture and ethnicity

From horrified revulsion in the mines to failure of know-how in the morgue, subscription to 'body' aided an emergent and furtive culture that bound workers to the symbolic meaning and organizing power of metaphor. But in the first days after the explosions, there is no evidence of a system for identifying dead matter – a critical deficiency in organizing recovery activities that would be observed by persons of varied ethnic, religious, and class backgrounds, mediated by diverse cultures, dialects, and translations, and framed by speculations, pseudonyms, widows' rants, and assertions by the press. Without an identification strategy, the management of illusion that bound workers in mine and morgue was threatened when so many of the sheathed were moved to public view. Yet, there was an ameliorating factor: by the time sheathed 'bodies' flowed out of the morgue, the illusion that served recovery workers also served many of the bereaved, offering resignation, if not tacit collusion.[20] For many reasons and for many persons, it was best to accept metaphor. Yet, resignation is not acquiescence.

Common culture, language, and gender may be required to accept the performance of puzzling shams. When American men used their power to impose 'body' on migrant women, they resisted, which instances embittered sorrow that lasted a lifetime and echoed in legend (Tropea, 2013a). Commonly shared sentiments aided sheathing and above-ground management of 'body' but there were many instances that showed performance to be precarious for much of the audience. The plot was elusive; the actors, sometimes offensive, performed in mime for much of the audience; the emotionally distraught and confused adults witnessing the performance were culturally fragmented and frequently joined by crying children; the props were fetid flesh under sheathes filling caskets in the morgue and lining the street, most awaiting transport to the Italian and Polish cemetery (Image 3). Still, the company men showed their mettle and the effectiveness of their selection.

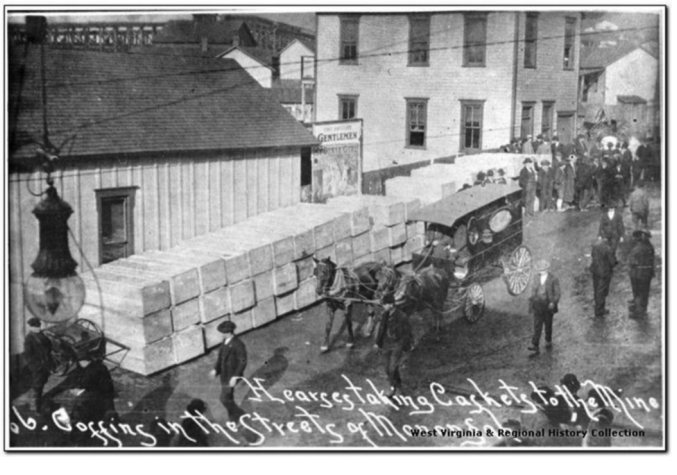


Image 3. Caskets in street.

Management chose a cast for a successful performance when 'None but practical mine men were employed' (Haas 1908, 11); that is, none but Anglo-Saxon males were authorized to enter and exit Mines 6 and 8 in the early recovery efforts. The one recorded exception was Pasquale Pasquale (MMRC: Storage Box 1), whose actions were likely frantic, unsanctioned attempts, to find his cousin, Antonio Pasquale, who worked and died in Mine 8 (MMRC: Miner File 254). Anglo-Saxons were best able to follow orders issued in English; they shared ethnic, religious, and cultural affinities with coal company management and ownership; they were better able to grasp nuances of oral and written communications, to decipher and subscribe to unwritten rules. In brief, they were best able to collude and deceive. However, this selection of personnel left only one operative language in the mines; initial discoveries, actions, and use of 'body' relied on translations for the Italian and Polish bereaved, most of whom spoke dialects, not a national language. These various languages festered in speculation among the aggrieved, which exacerbated grief, confusion, skepticism, and legend. Ethnic pluralism, compacted in that small West Virginia town, continued to prove a major challenge, especially without a strategy to identify and bury the dead.

Prejudice and portents of chaos

The social-cultural divisions that cleaved Monongah were captured in media and company commentary:

> … dark-skinned little men from South Italy … Slavic peoples which make almost a ritual of sobbing … Italian … giving herself up to the impetuous crying of her race … emotional excitement among the women, especially among the foreign element … identifications at the cemetery were greatly hindered by the ignorance of some of the bereaved … among the foreigners some would claim as their own a body which had been fully identified. (Kellogg 1908, 1314–1315; Haas 1908, 18–19)

While languages and cultures of the bereaved made difficult their deciphering events in the explosions' aftermath, native bigotry, racial stereotypes, patronization, and an identification fiction aggravated Monongah's social divides. To the combustible mix of ethnicities and bigotry was added the portent of public pandemonium attendant on a great disaster, all squeezed into the confines of a small West Virginia town.[21]

The coal company faced a major challenge with a range of interests and demands, from national and international reporters, journalists, and European governments, to mountain people, hungry families, competing volunteers, contending politicians, nefarious solicitations, readied troops, heart-rending expressions of confused torment, and a casket-laden street (Image 4). Added to this portent for chaos, the company's check tags for identifying workers in the mines were scattered and destroyed. Management incompetence in moving hundreds of cadavers and pieces of miners and working boys to the surface would have greatly exacerbated the precariousness of this post-explosion situation; without a backstage order that could delude the many hundreds who watched and wailed, volatility would have worsened. In the midst of the pandemonium, mine men extracted and transformed 'unknown' carcasses into identified dead. Much of this task was completed without correct names for the dead miners, without identifying markers for the dead miners, without witnesses for the dead miners but with organized stealth. The 'practical mine men', who managed the dead and subscribed to 'body', helped limit, if not eliminate, horror, and no serious mayhem prevailed. Plus, Anglo-Americans sacrificed their lives in the recovery effort. Also, when some decaying matter was discovered in the mines, after burials were completed, it was treated with respect, even devotion and deposited in the Italian part of the Catholic cemetery. Nonetheless, the order emergent in the disaster's aftermath would have been far more precarious without an identification strategy – a ruse.

Image 4. Boxes and bodies.

Strategic ruse

The working culture of 'body' began with splattered flesh, horror, and metaphor, continued through failure of authorized procedures, strengthened through collusion, and matured in public performance but could offer no authentic strategy for identifying the dead. The force of the Monongah explosions effectively eliminated the check tags for identifying who was in the mines at the time. Also, the company's payroll office did not have proper identification for most of the miners, just approximations of correct names. Transnational workers, largely Italian and Slavic, were given phonetically formed names, recorded in the company payroll office, often multiple versions for the same miner (Tropea, 2013b). These factors, as well as language, culture, and other uncertainties associated with transnational labor, further challenged proper identification of the dead. However, within a few days of the explosions, a survey was conducted of dwellings, mostly company houses, to collect information on dependents and to discover what miners were reported missing. This survey was mediated by translators who may or may not have understood the dialects known to informants – mainly women, often illiterate and likely unfamiliar with the company alias. Other informants may have been familiar with the assigned company name but little else; some may not have known the birth name or American nickname, while others may have known only the *soprannome* (Italian nickname). So, much of the confusion that existed prior to the survey remained afterwards; a correct name for many miners was not secured through this survey (Image 5). However, the survey provided the company with the first systematic knowledge of what 'body' and backstage management of the dead could not: first-hand accounts of who had not returned from the mines.

Combining a thorough but imprecise survey with exhaustive but defective personnel records was sufficient to corroborate whether a miner reported missing was employed by the company. This provided circumstantial but strong evidence of who died in the mines – and an 'identification' strategy for naming all who were expected to be dead. This strategy was flexible, since it could be used for 'bodies' previously labeled – even buried – as 'unknown'. 'Identification' was simple though convoluted, audacious but not unreasonable: attach names lacking remains to remains lacking names. The wherewithal to implement such a scheme was already established through backstage experience with 'body', tacit understandings, and acquiescent workers, whose actions proved to be systematic, as well as stealthy.

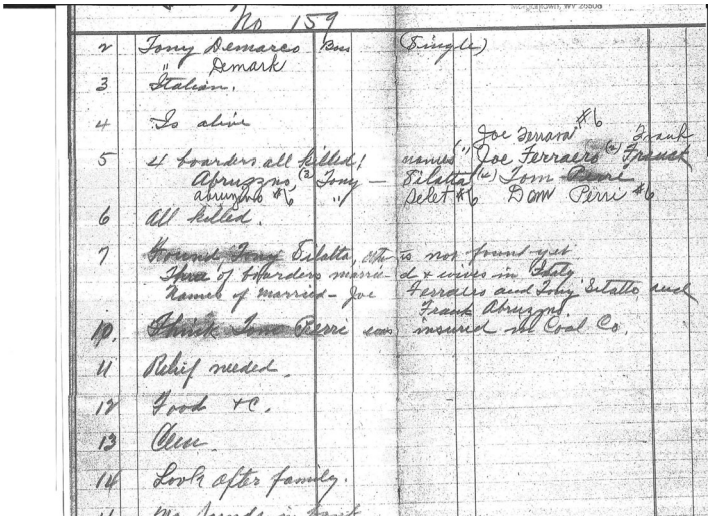


Image 5. House 159.

Analysis of three primary sources demonstrates the systematic and deceptive nature of identifications at the Italian cemetery: a worksheet identifying names by cemetery location; a diagram of the cemetery, largely corresponding to information on the worksheet (MMRC: Storage Box 1); and *The Coroner's Record* with names and numbers showing the sequential order of remains arriving at the morgue. Also, and significantly, the worksheet lists 'unknown' for many grave sites over which names were later added (Image 6). A notation replacing an 'unknown' with a name may simply suggest that a new information was received to support identification of what were once-unidentifiable remains; evidence suggests otherwise: in all 16 of the unknown-to-name changes, the source of identification is left blank, with neither a source nor a location cited for 'identifying' the remains (note 'Identified By' in Image 6). More surprising still, some of the names superimposed over 'unknown' came from 'unidentified' remains that had already been named; that is, unidentified but named remains were used to identify unknown remains (MMRC: Miner Files 94, 263, and 276; cemetery worksheet, Row D, Grave Site 9 and Row E, Grave Sites, 2 and 8). These notations implicate a system of ordered deception in 'identifying the dead', one that confused observers, the bereaved, legend, research, and history. These deep-seated and long-lasting effects of covert collusion are understandable when its intricate and systematic actions are further revealed.

There is another pattern in 'identifying the dead that is not made coherent through witnesses or physical evidence. Rather, it is explained by cemetery presentation. This is demonstrated in the sequential pattern of naming the 'unknown' already buried in the Italian cemetery – to present 100% 'identified' in the rows**.** For whatever reasons, 'unknown' in two grave sites in Row A were not given names. However, for Rows B through E, the 'unknown' were 'identified' in ascending order – corresponding to the numbers assigned 'bodies' received in the morgue: Row B – 96, 142, 180; Row C – 94, 104, 246; Row D – 168, 282; Row E – 151, 176, 181. There was no sequence in Rows G and H because only one 'unknown' was named in each of these rows, both for the first grave site: Row G – 93; Row H – 217; still, with this effort, Row G became 100% 'identified'. Only Row F shows a non-sequential pattern: 263, 226. But this exception is of little consequence for these two changes provided Row F with 100% 'identified'. Clearly, cemetery presentation drove these post-burial 'identifications', which may seem bizarre in a system of logic but not in a system of action. Coherence of aftermath actions was nurtured in an emerging backstage order, shaped not only by an horrific exigency, a body metaphor, and a work culture but also through continued rehearsals of covert, coordinated, and deceptive actions from discovery to burial. This research

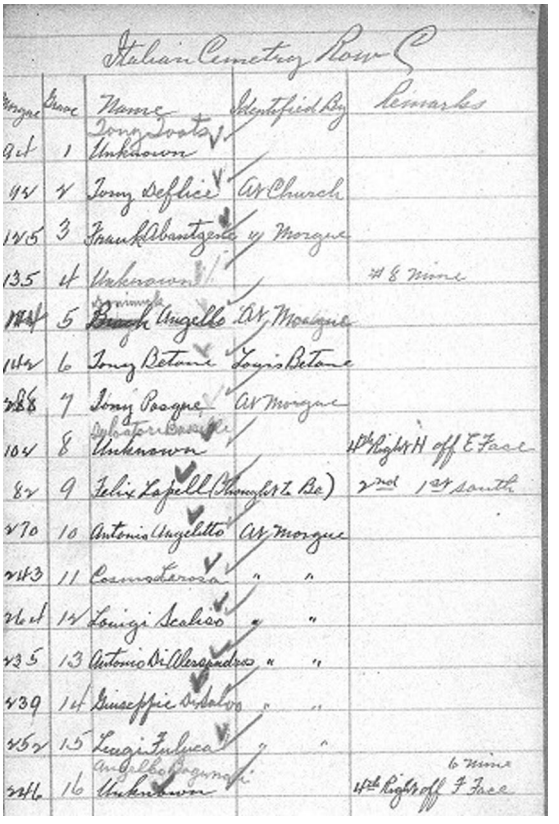


Image 6. Italian cemetery, Row C.

showed how shrewdly and systematically deception was orchestrated in response to many contingencies – but not all.

Misconstrued metaphor, missed, married

In the early stages of recovery, miners to be reported dead, the magnitude of their mutilation, unidentified corpses or 'bodies' assembled from unrecognizable parts – flesh labeled 'unidentified or 'unknown' – could not have been known or effectively anticipated. Indeed, whether in the form of unrecognizable corpses or assemblages of random body parts that were designated as 'unidentified' or 'unknown' proved too many. Subsequent to burial, moreover, these remains could not be exhumed and combined with others to reduce the number of 'unknown'. Such actions would have not only punctured the deceit of 'body' but also, and unnecessarily, exacerbated sorrow, anger, and skepticism, especially among 'foreigners'. Although 'body' became more difficult to manage, once moved from the morgue, where transnationals less willing or able to comply with the sham threatened the bedrock of collective deception, 'body' as core organizing mode was shared by recovery workers and its symbolic worth was tacitly acknowledged by many of the bereaved, as well. In this way, the grand ruse muted both identification integrity and social conflict in the disaster's aftermath. But with post-burial deposits at the Italian cemetery, the body metaphor was misconstrued and left a deep imprint on oral history and published research.

After burials were completed, the survey information collected enabled 'identification' of 'unknown' graves in the cemetery by using the names of every miner reported missing. As a result, after the mid-December burials, the list of names of missing miners was exhausted while

'unknown' lingered as pieces underground. So, discoveries of human matter in the mines continued after the burials, a dilemma relieved, in part, by placing some of this matter in a trench in the Italian part of the Catholic cemetery. While other such matter may have been ignored or dispersed in less reverential, less observable, ways, these placements of carnage in the cemetery were seen by others. Observers of post-burial deposits of fetid matter encouraged doubts over identification and transformed 'unknown', a backstage signifier of 'body', into 'unreported' – 'unreported' dead miners. These reconstructions then constituted 'evidence' that more miners died than were reported – a basis for doubting the aftermath performance and for legend. Acceptance of 'unreported' dead miners was encouraged by ethnic, labor, and religious interests (Anniversary 1957, 17; Todd 1957, 16–17; Bonasso 2003, 27). Upward estimates of the 'unreported' dead eventually exceeded by 600 the names of miners reported to have died (Wilson 2011; Calabrese 2012). Speculation and legend motivated research into 'unreported' dead miners, who, in one publication, were 'discovered' (McAteer 2007, 218–241); though only eight names were offered for the many 'unreported' dead, those eight did not withstand scrutiny (Tropea 2008). The misconstrued metaphor so profoundly affected local lore and 'evidence' that deaths of 'unreported' dead boys, as well as 'unreported' dead miners, were claimed; yet, these reports, too, lacked corroboration (Tropea, 2013b). Still, flawed accounts speak less to folk ignorance than to the effectiveness of a ruse that continued to create confusion long after the mid-December burials, in ways more nuanced than numbers of the 'unreported' dead.

Nicolo Pirrocco was buried six months to the day after the Monongah explosions, on 6 May 1908. The company had 'discovered' Pirrocco's remains two days previously, a short time after it would have received a copy of authoritative testimony from Italy that verified his dependents. Pirrocco's death was known much earlier to the Monongah Mines Relief Committee, but it probably did not inform the company until its financial obligations were confirmed through that authoritative communication from Italy. Then, the backstage strategy was again invoked: Pirrocco's 'body' was 'discovered' (MMRC: Miner File 263). An auditor's letter does not indicate what was done with the discovered 'body', but Pirrocco's name was used to replace the 'unknown' in Row E, Grave Site 2 (MMRC: Work Sheet, Box 16).[22] The backstage identification strategy continued to serve – or overserve – for many months.

Identification of transnational migrants was especially difficult, even for Italians who emigrated as citizens. (Other migrants from the South and East of Europe were subjects of empires, which made identification even more problematic.) There was an Italian government office in nearby Fairmont, an Italian church in Monongah, and the majority of Italians lived with *paesani*, who could provide assistance. Most of the fabricated company-assigned names for Italians were eventually corrected; for example, 'Smith', was changed to 'Colantuono'. Still, whether with a correct or an incorrect name, 'body' could mask, not identify, dead flesh, especially when reports of missing men were sufficient to 'identify' dead miners. For example, 'Louie Patch', buried with an English name, was reported not to have returned after the explosions. Patch was on the company books, the 151st body removed from the mines, with a letter from a company payroll officer testifying to his identification (mine worksheet; MMRC: Miner File 255) (Images 7 and 8). Yet a year after the explosion, Patch married in Italy with his Italian name, Luigi Pace (Tropea, 2013b, 77–78). Louis (or Louie) Patch, remains buried in Monongah, though the matter labeled 'Patch' competes with matter labeled 'Nicolo Pirrocco' for Row E, Grave Site 2 (MMRC: Cemetery Worksheet, Cemetery Diagram, and Miner File 155). Finally, some miners were not identified until long after the explosion, or never identified. The name Vincenzo Cavallaro, in its various Italian and American forms, is affixed to remains in various locations, from mine to cemetery, but not to a *paese* (town) or family. That name represents someone who may or may not have worked for the company, may or may not have died in Monongah, may or may not have been buried there. Though Vincenzo Cavallaro remains unknown, his name was used to replace an 'unknown' in the Italian cemetery, Row B, Grave Site 17 (MMRC: Miner File 43, Survey Worksheet, and House 156). (Image 9)

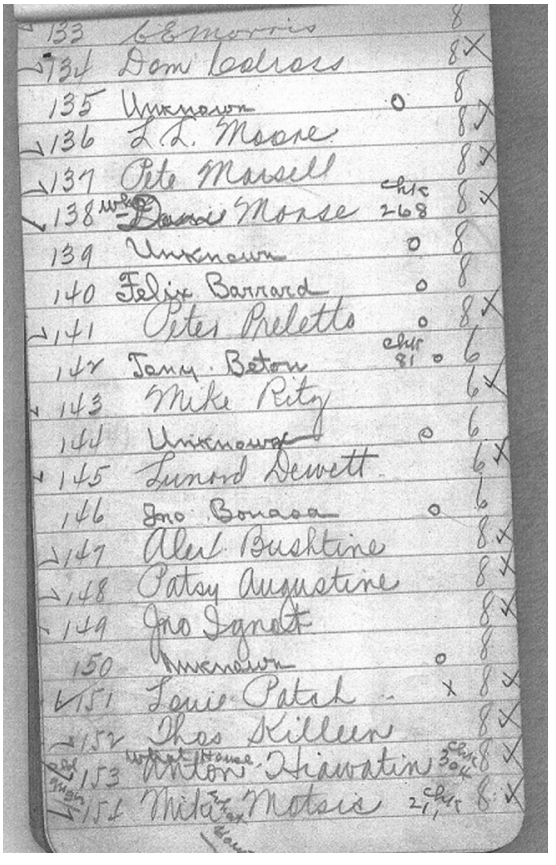

133 L E Morris 8
134 Dom Cadras 8X
135 Unknown 0 8
136 L L. Moore 8X
137 Pete Mascell 8X
138 Mrs Dominic Morse chic 268 8X
139 Unknown 0 8
140 Felix Barnard 0 8
141 Peter Peletto 0 8X
142 Tony Beton chic 81 0 6
143 Mike Pity 6X
144 Unknown 0 6
145 Lunard Dewett 6X
146 Jno Bonasa 0 6
147 Abel Bushtine 8X
148 Patsy Augustine 8X
149 Jno Ignett 8X
150 Unknown 0 8
151 Louie Patal X 8X
152 Thos Killeen 8X
153 Wife Home Milton Hawatin 3 chs 8X
154 Mrs Tony Mateis 2 chs 8X

Image 7. 151st body.

The systematic and disrespectful maneuvers with unidentifiable flesh in the morgue and cemetery echoed the mistreatment of once-living labor, which only added to doubts about the company's orchestration of 'body'. When remains, assigned an identity, were revealed to doubting widows and they did not accept what was shown as their husbands, the identification remained unchanged. This imposition of hoax deeply unsettled many women, particularly Catterina. Widowed with five children, she denied a revealed 'body' as her Vittorio but to no avail. Shortly after that horrendous encounter, unknown persons further offended her by encroaching into the house where she lived to interrogate her about her personal plans: it was a company house intended for miners, not widows. The chauvinistic and condescending intruders recorded observations on Catterina in their notes: 'no' intelligence; 'not any' cleanliness; 'woman has insane temper not very good sense' (MMRC: Miner File 67). (Image 10) Not surprisingly, after settlement with the relief committee and company, Catterina traversed an ocean and the Alps with the children only to find her village in famine. Once the challenges of an authorized exit were met – especially difficult for women – she returned to the US with sick children, who were hospitalized at Ellis Island, and eventually resettled in Monongah. As one part of her survival, she daily walked to the mines to collect spilled coal for cooking and warmth, for which she suffered public taunts and isolation (Tropea, 2013a). While the coal company's backstage management of the dead was clever, it was imperfect. Catterina's story illustrates some immediate effects and long-term consequences of imposing identity on unrecognized flesh, on following the mandates of a metaphor and furtive management.

FAIRMONT COAL COMPANY.
FAIRMONT, W. VA.

R. T. CUNNINGHAM,
AUDITOR.

March 4, 1909.

Mr. J.M.Jacobs,
Sec. Monongah Mines Relief Committee,
Fairmont,W.Va.

Dear Sir:-

Your letter of March 2nd with respect to Louis Patch is at hand.

[redacted]

Louis Patch was a young man aged about twenty-one, and was identified by our Pay Roll Clerk Gibbons and checks found on his person, same being No. 108. His body was discovered and removed from mine No. 8.

From this it would seem that Rev. D'Andrea has had incorrect information.

Yours very truly,

Auditor.

Image 8. Auditor's letter.

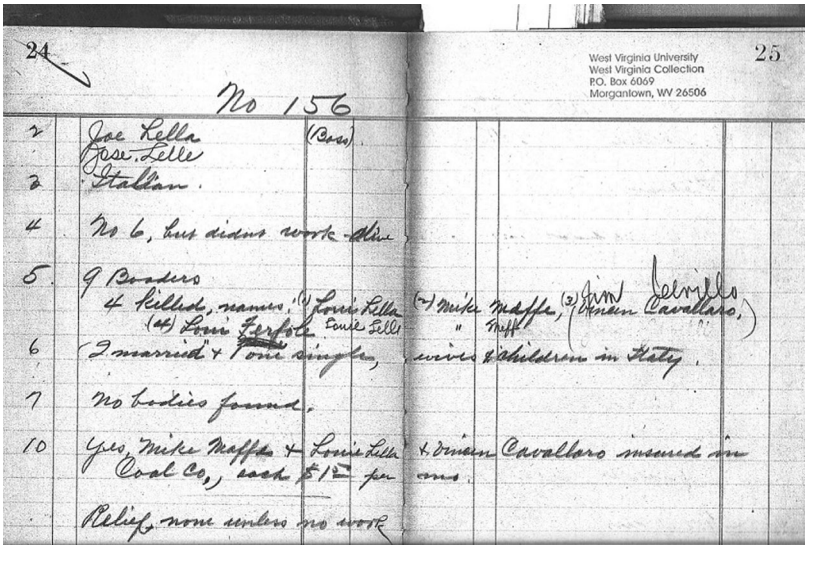
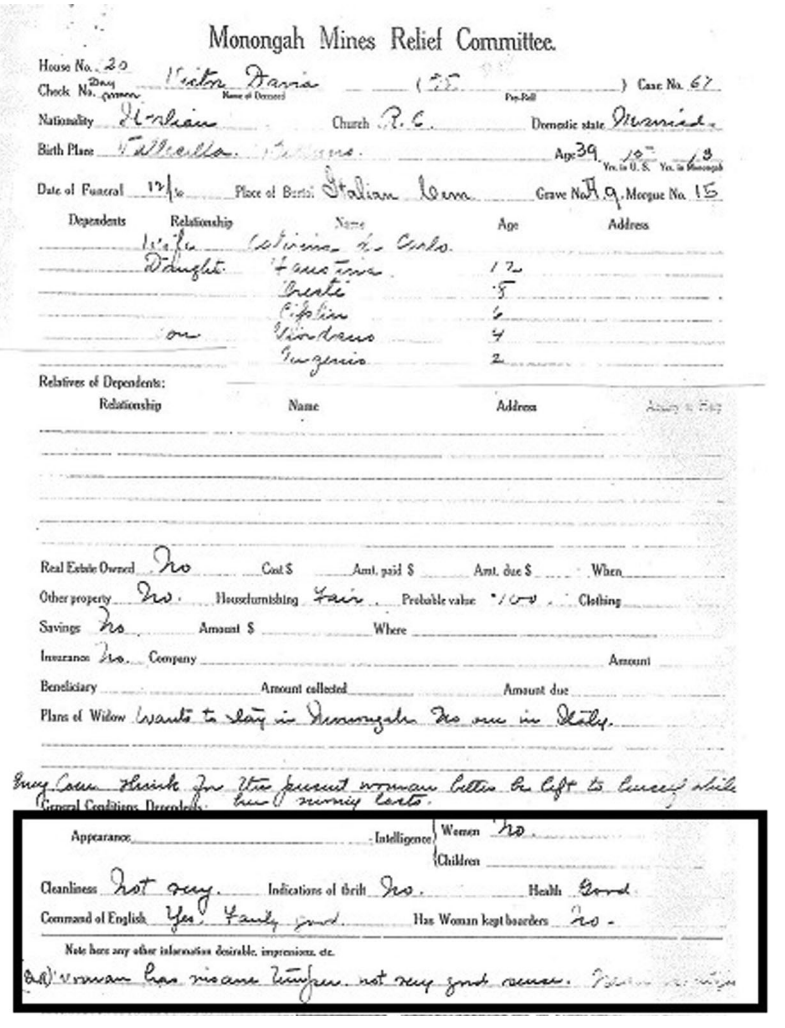

24
25
West Virginia University
West Virginia Collection
P.O. Box 6069
Morgantown, WV 26506
No 156
Joe Lella (Boss)
Stallian.
No 6, but didnt work this
9 Boarders
4 killed, names, (1) Louis Lella (2) Mike Maffe, (3) Vinn Delvillo
(4) Louis Ferfola Louis Lella " Maffe Vincen Cavallaro,
3 married + 1 one single, wife & children in Italy.
No bodies found.
Yes, Mike Maffe + Louis Lella + Vincen Cavallaro insured in Coal Co, each $1000 per ann.
Relief none unless no work

Image 9. House 156 (Cavallaro).



Monongah Mines Relief Committee.

House No. 20 Victor Dania (55) Case No. 67
Check No. Day Name of Deceased Pay-Roll
Nationality Italian Church R.C. Domestic state Married
Birth Place Fallerella. Age 39 Yrs. in U.S. 12 Yrs. in Monongah
Date of Funeral 12/6 Place of Burial Italian Town Grave No. 79 Morgue No. 15

Dependents	Relationship	Name	Age	Address
	Wife	Catterina de Carlo		
	Daughter	Tarantina	12	
		Ursula	5	
		Filolina	6	
	Son	Vincenzo	4	
		Eugenio	2	

Relatives of Dependents:

Relationship	Name	Address

Real Estate Owned No Cost $ Amt. paid $ Amt. due $ When
Other property No. Housefurnishing Fair. Probable value $ 10 Clothing
Savings No. Amount $ Where
Insurance No. Company Amount
Beneficiary Amount collected Amount due
Plans of Widow Wants to stay in Monongah No one in Italy.
Very Good Think for the present woman better be left to herself while
General Conditions Dependents her money lasts.

Appearance Intelligence Women No
Children
Cleanliness Not very. Indications of thrift No. Health Good
Command of English Yes Fairly good. Has Woman kept boarders No -
Note here any other information desirable, impressions, etc.
Old Woman has insane tendencies. not very good woman.

Image 10. Notes on Catterina.

Summary and comments

This research showed how dead bodies, body parts, and unrecognizable flesh created logistical and existential dilemmas for responders, who mobilized actions through a metaphor and furtive coordination, from underground discoveries to cemetery burials. Documents, including a coroner's report, burial records, and a house-to-house survey, revealed an ad hoc strategy for identifying unidentifiable bodies that rested on 'backstage' actions and understandings, shaped in the mines and adopted in the morgue – actions that limited community mayhem and the sight of horrors, as well as serving company interests. This work also showed how the systematic, stealthy, and dismissive manner in which dead bodies and body parts were handled muddled the history of the disaster and exacerbated misery for some dependents. The article provides coherence to heretofore puzzling actions and outcomes, which had eluded comprehension for over a century. While this research – unlike descriptive narratives – revealed an evolving order in managing responses to an horrific exigency, it may still seem remote to scholarly interests in culture and organization. The following comments on method, theory, agency, metaphor, and the importance of emergent order attempt to reduce that distance.

Questions of generalizability of findings once haunted case studies, with criteria for control, isolation, and covariation of factors, for sampling, replication, and other means to reduce 'empirical diversity' (Kreuzer 2009, 693–694). Transformed views on causality, human agency, and organizational epistemologies, however, have changed evaluative criteria for social research, including generalizability.[23] Relationships among concept, inquiry, data production, and analysis, not methods alone, influence generalizability; mechanisms and their import still need to be argued and substantiated or there would be little of consequence about which to generalize (Manzo 2014, 6).[24] This article conceptualized and documented actions – emergent, meaningful, and coordinated – within a network of actors, who mobilized responses to unexpected events, actions and responses that may be bases for generalization; 'may', for they are often overlooked in research distracted by organizationally marginal factors. For example, in numerous reports of US coal mine disasters, diverse languages, ethnicities, families, norms, and religions, as well as mutilated bodies, aid narrative, but do not elucidate emergent order in response to an unexpected and horrendous disaster. This research, by focusing on incipient constructions of metaphor, understandings and actions, showed how marginal the coal company's command-and-control structure was in shaping emergent order, in creating coherence at the time of horror and pandemonium – compared to subordinate actors. Such unprescribed and emergent mobilizing actions remain a challenge to organizational theory and research, seem endemic to unexpected disasters or unique organizational dilemmas of many sorts, and suggest a focus for that which may become worthy of generalization (Rawls 1990; Schneider 1992). If this research had investigated sanctioned structures, procedures, and explanations, rather than operative actions, use of metaphor, and backstage understandings, it would have masked the significance of what occurred in Monongah and what continues to occur in many organizations: schools, hospitals, courts, corporations, even edifices of disaster management.

In the reported research, postulating the metaphor of 'body' was integral to discovery and interpretation of operative actions. However, its use was limited to what was contained in archived sources, which enabled only a simple assessment of metaphor, rather than multiple or nuanced meanings, or rhetorical analysis of sophisticated expressions through anomaly, irony, or paradox. Still, even this limited use showed the power of metaphor in revealing hidden but crucial actions, actions that gave coherence to seemingly bizarre behavior and outcomes that would otherwise have remained in the domains of suspicion, speculation, and legend. By showing the place of metaphor in coordinating actions among different organizational levels, this work softens the criticism of much metaphor analysis: does not address power relations (Gabriel, Geiger, and Letiche 2011). Metaphor, by implicating administration/management in furtive order, suggests prospects for moderating, if not eradicating, many awkward organizational bifurcations: formal–informal, prescribed–unprescribed, commanded–negotiated, frontstage–backstage, etc.[25] The array and availability of records of organizational communications – 'embodiments of sedimented, accumulated talk' – promises more thorough and creative use of metaphor than was possible in the Monongah research (Ventresca and Mohr 2002, 807). Former participants, familiar with metaphors used and meanings constructed in unprescribed networks, can provide, through their 'living memories' or memoirs, what was not available for the Monongah research.

Though the Monongah mine disaster helped produce the first national mine-safety legislation in the US in 1910, neither that 1910 legislation, concerned more with prevention than response, nor the subsequent evolution of regulatory regimes that characterize modern disaster management, address the situation and stealthy actions revealed in this research (Aldrich 1995). The legally constituted, ostensibly rational, edifice of disaster management – encompassing independent, self-governing institutions and agencies, with overlapping jurisdictions and interdependent managements of multiple stages, from notification and first response to burial and public relations, as well as numerous and various professionals with autonomous standards of performance – presents a bureaucratic complex of organizations, rules, and norms that challenge coordination, especially under urgent conditions (Depoorter 2006; Kiefer and Montjoy 2006; Comfort 2007; Garnett and Kouzmin 2007).[26] This labyrinth of rational-legal order harbors not only disorder, confusion, and immobility, but also stealth,

which allow actors with 'agentic understanding' to take spontaneous actions, form networks, communicate meanings, and produce coordination. Penetrating 'backstage orders' within this complex of legally constituted bureaucracies, whose mission, professional control, and managed stealth are politically and culturally sanctioned, may be more challenging than revealing some actions of West Virginia miners in 1907 (Tierney 2007; Epps 2008).[27] Cordoning the public from disaster sites, concealing selected actions, and controlling information are deeply ensconced in the state's regulatory regimes, as is license for professional autonomy and other justifications for secrecy. Even when 'backstage' actions can be revealed, their import is often discounted as episodic, nonessential, behaviors – a normative view too often left unchallenged by historical and comparative inquiries.

Unquestioned normative subscription to rational-legal order may mask the analytic significance of emergent actions, which entail more than contemporary bureaucratic domains. Emergent actions are basic to human agency and social change. Practical, but heretofore unprescribed, actions may be expected when prescribed organization and behavior prove incapable of responding to unexpected conditions, whether historically novel or situationally urgent. In turn, actions of emergent order can become institutionalized; both symbiosis and evolution of actions prescribed and operative, commanded and negotiated, frame the making, maintaining, and transforming of systems of domination, from tribal to rational-legal order.[28] The emergent order identified in Monongah should be placed within this general framework and seen as contributing to it.

Historically, negotiated order creates and changes, as well as maintains systems of domination. For example, challenges to feudal hierarchy were pervasive, including on the English manor that oversaw organization of cultivation and resolution of the conflicts attendant to it – neither of which could be realized through command. Negotiated outcomes are suggested by the layout of the open fields, as well as the manorial court. The pattern and spread of cultivated landholdings suggest deliberation among yeoman-cultivators, informed by knowledge of season-cycle, land character, plow accessibility, number and quality of oxen, and likely parceling of land over time, as well as by the needs, numbers, and self-interests of participants (Dodgshon 1975). The outcome was a patterned maze of plow strips that could not have been envisioned, let alone commanded. Records of the manorial court – 'an assembly of cultivators' – too, illustrate the importance of negotiated resolution in settling conflicts, largely generated by the cultivators. While in England's post-Conquest hierarchy, resident landowners were under some obligation to administer justice, 'without recourse to formal legal proceedings', the emerging judicial authority of magistrates was also enabled by negotiation; for example, through public deliberation over the choice of exercising coercion or mercy (Tropea 1991). Similarly, in the US, urban police patrols early relied on negotiated applications of norms and laws, especially in maintaining day-to-day order in diverse ethnic neighborhoods (Tropea 1991). Also, US urban school bureaucracies responded to compulsory attendance laws through a negotiated and emergent order that safeguarded pre-legislation exclusionary practices and norms. The power of this order was – and is – indicated by numerous interconnections among 'front-stage' procedures and programs and 'backstage' practices, from immediate creation and elaboration of 'special' children and special curricula to outright violation of attendance laws and lowered expectations for student performance (|Tropea 1987a, 1987b).

When problematic organizational conditions are created by sanctioned institutions, including rules and norms, the response is often unprescribed actions and networks. For example, eastern European command economies created supply problems that were not resolved through their prescribed institutional structures. The deep-seated 'backstage' negotiation of resources among and within groups of state managers, workers, citizens, and the politburo provided emergent order – an alternative to market's negotiated transactions and allocation of resources – enabled command economies' survival, for some decades (Kozminski and Tropea 1982; Tropea and Sterniczuk 1988). But, the importance of negotiated order is also systemic in societies that subscribe to markets, laws, democracy, and professional administration. These core organizing modes of rational-legal order and their cultures engender conflict in all levels of organization, from the inter-personal to the societal. Still, the continuous need to negotiate institutionalized accommodations to conflicts among these regimes gives a

vitality to society, including innovation in practical knowledge that is too often lacking in those laboring under excesses of command (Tropea 1989, 1995). Notwithstanding, the influence of normative management, the legacy and incorporation of emergent orders is deep-seated in many institutional histories and organizational domains. In any event, emergent and negotiated orders are not epiphenomena and should be attended to by scholars of culture and organization.

Notes

1. Research ranges from prehistoric placement of body with weapons and travel accouterments (Zahl 1949; Thomas 2000) to ancient Greek stelae (Leader 1997), Etruscan funerary art (Holliday 1990), Hmong funeral music (Falk 2003), Teotihuacan mortuary practices (Buikstra 1996), medieval funeral imagery, body, and gender (Bynum 1991; Stanford 2007), 'social landscape' of cemeteries (Warner 1959), 'beautiful' and 'invisible' deaths (Aries 1981; Tredennick 2010), twentieth-century funerary practices (Laderman 2003), and contemporary commodification of kin and body parts (Sharp 2001); knowledge gained ranges from diet and disease to belief systems and gender, art and music, living patterns and social status, commemoration, and commerce.
2. The literature on genocide and industrial accidents is informative (Cherniack 1986; Wyschogrod 1990; McEvoy 1995; Melson 1996; Oliver-Smith 1996; Wistrich 1997; Greenwald 2002; Kosicki 2007; Komar 2008; Todd 2009; Card 2011) but the research on war, particularly World War I, offers some of the best research and analysis on responses to the dead; see, for example, the work of Bourke (1996, 2004); Becker (1993) Sherman (1998); Heathorn (2005); and Lennard (2011).
3. The impact of World War I's mass death and carnage should not be underestimated. Bourke provides illustrative examples for World War I, particularly in Chapter 5, 'Re-membering,' in *Dismembering the Male*. Giraudoux and Sergeant (1917) in 'First Dead' also provide aftermath descriptions that are echoed in many accounts. Websites offer numerous World War I photographic displays but not much narrative; see, for example: http://worldwartwozone.com/forums/index.php?/topic/9415-bloody-hell-warning-graphic-images-of-war-dead/ (accessed July 9, 2016). This 'lust for the visuality of catastrophe' in the aftermath of World War I attracted intellectuals, including Ernst Junger, who contributed 'introductory essays to seven photo albums depicting contemporary catastrophic events' (Gil 2010).
4. This problem is not unique to disasters, as this article will suggest. Emergent order poses a general problem to theory, as well as research (Rawls 1990).
5. There are factors implicated but not argued in these accounts: local contexts, cultures and contingencies, beliefs, traditions, and geography; notoriety of the event and access to its aftermath; prerogatives of proprietorship, including selection of rescue-and-recovery personnel; status, age, ethnicity, and gender of victims and witnesses, including proximity of kin and clan. For a book-length example, see Dilley (1900) and for an exhaustive list and brief descriptions of mine disasters in the UK, see The Coalmining History Research Center. For the place of these factors outside of US–European contexts, see Oliver-Smith (1996).
6. Changes and their social impact are not to be underestimated: cordoning and crowd control, professionally managed information, and specially trained personnel have become as much an expected part of the response to disaster and mass death as sorrow.
7. There are noted exceptions. For example, Erving Goffman's dramaturgical analysis of the presentation of self, which recognizes the need 'to switch back and forth between many complicated roles', has been dichotomized in organizational studies into 'front-stage-backstage' distinctions. Still, there are interrelated conceptual and empirical problems when organizations are viewed at the level of role and interaction. The adaptation of an interactional level of analysis produced insight and interesting results when roles morphed into functions; for example, in recognizing organization as 'negotiated order'. However, 'negotiating science' or 'negotiating law' or 'negotiating facts' are, too often, viewed as normative aberrancies rather than as integral parts of institutional order; also, the normative view of organizations is supported by the absence of historical understanding. For a discussion of Goffman and the problems with interaction, emergent order, and structure, see Rawls (1990); Collins (1996); and Hall (1997). For negotiated order in law, technology, science, pharmacy and accounting, see: Skolnick (1966); Johnston (1985); Mesler (1985); Wagner (1995); and Basu, Dirsmith, and Gupta (1999). For the absence of an historical perspective, see Schneider (1992). For a long-term, deep-seated, and comparative view of emergent and negotiated order, see Kozminski and Tropea (1982); Tropea and Sterniczuk (1988) Tropea (1991, 1987a, 1987b, 1989).
8. Since these observations, emergent networks have attracted interest; see, for example, Varda et al. (2009).
9. Such elements of organization are raised to the level of 'principles' or primary tasks, with information control of first importance; for example, the first of the 'first principles' in victim identification is 'information management' (Interpol 2009, 3), while a primary task is to 'manage information' (Morgan, Tidball-Binz, and van Alphen 2009, 4).
10. For a special volume of research articles dedicated to the use of metaphor, see *Culture and Organization*, Volume 17, Issue 5, 2011.

11. For flawed claims about the Monongah disaster, see: a folklorist's claims about the death of 11-year-old, 'Devil' Johnny Keney' (Korson 1943, 146); about the number of dead in a labour publication (Todd 1957; The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health); and about men who supposedly died but were not reported (McAteer 2007, Chapter 15; Tropea 2008). It should be noted that Reviewer 2, in response to an earlier draft of this article, using an example from the Sago mine disaster of 2 January 2006, reminded the author that the role of myth did not entirely die with contemporary rationality.
12. For examples of striking miners and company control in this period in the US, see: 'A Study of Slavs, Strikes and Unions' (Greene 1964) and 'The Ludlow Massacre' (Walker 2003). Variations in company responses and results in handling bodies in the aftermath of explosions are illustrated by: the Oaks Colliery in the UK in 1866, where 358 out of the 360 dead were identified, though 170 remained buried in the mines (The Coalmining History Research Center); Fraterville Mine in Tennessee in 1902 where over 30 of the 216 dead remained unidentified (Fowler 2012); and the Monongah Mines in West Virginia in 1907, where all of the dead were identified. For changing relationships among labor, record-keeping (accounting), and services in the transformation from paternalistic to alienated capitalist mining enterprises (see Michael and Nelson 1998).
13. See, for example: Korson (1943); Bonasso (2003); McAteer (2007); Wilson (2011); and Calabrese (2012).
14. Crucial questions that motivated the research are indicated by: What was the nature of rescue and recovery efforts administered by company agents when undisciplined by state mandates, organized labor, labor rights, liability laws, professional control, and identification technologies? In the absence of such factors, what shaped the response, beyond the need to resume production in the mines? How was the response influenced by the dead's kin and clan – clamouring at the mine head? What commands and controls enabled coordinated actions amidst the chaos of the disaster? How did the organized response to the disaster affect the disaster's history?
15. For research that addresses the sense of body integrity and contextualizes it in relationship to other factors, such as social class (see Richardson 1987; O'Connor 1997).
16. The West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University, holds the records of the Monongah Mines Relief Committee (MMRC 1910), which contains the MMRC final report (Box 1), files on the deceased miners (Boxes 2–13), correspondence, notes, and documentation related to the explosions (Boxes 14–15), and two storage boxes, which contain the company survey. The MMRC final report is listed separately in References.
17. The significance of the Italians for this research is more methodological than cultural. They constituted almost 50% of the Monongah dead and were largely buried in one cemetery, for which documentation provides the location of grave sites. (This is unlike the American dead who were buried in a number of locations, at some distance, as well as nearby.) There were other differences that enabled documentation. Unlike the other transnational migrants, from South and East Europe, who were subjects of empires, Italians immigrated with citizenship status. There was an Italian consulate office within eight miles of the site of the explosion, as well as an Italian church in Monongah, a mission of the Scalabrinians (Brown 1996). These institutions of state and church enabled more robust information in the files of the dead Italians; for example, communications to and from the MMRC and Italian village and church administrations. Additionally, the company's special relationship to the Italian church (subsidized it through monies withdrawn from the miners' pay) provided a registry of miners and additional information on the Italian priest's involvement with parishioners, not available for the other miners. For these reasons, much of the data and most of the incidents provided in this article are related to the Italian cohort of the dead. For readers interested in the historical context of immigrants and the bituminous coal-mining region, see: US Immigration Commission (1911); for interest in the company town, see: Porteous (1970); for interest in West Virginia and Italians, from labor abuse and community-level study to folk lore, see, Wolfe (1979); Ward (1979); and Bailey (1991).
18. Many identifiable and, in some cases intact, human carcasses, as well as those unidentifiable were found:

> When the faces of the rooms were reached, however bodies were found in all conceivable conditions and positions. Some, neither burned nor bruised, were found lying in the act of making an undercut, pick in hand; some in sitting posture with head bowed, resting in their hands … while in a small hole in the rib of this heading the body of a trapper boy was found in a sitting posture without a mark of any kind. (Haas 1908, 13–14)

19. It bears noting that description of procedures under the auspices of the coroner's office is provided by Haas, a company engineer, not the coroner, E.S. Amos, a political appointee. The company, not the coroner, administered handling bodies from discovery to burial. The coroner's normal responsibility was to hold inquests into violent, sudden, or suspicious deaths, which was done a month after the explosion. Coroners were generally 'not competent to perform autopsies', were politically elected or politically appointed without qualifications in medicine or law, were often identified with incompetence, such as leaving unrevealed 'hidden murders' or unethical behavior, such as diverting 'business to the private undertaker', and often did not conduct inquests when 'wage-earners' lost 'their lives in factories, mills and mines' (Mitchell 1911, 76; Turrentine 1941, 276–277; Leflar 1955, 268). There

was little company motivation to delegate authority to the coroner other than to engage more medical personnel to assist in the described procedures.

20. This is indicated in MMRC miners' files, where women chose not to view 'body'.
21. This portends the political use of grief which finds some vindication in national legislation, though the expression of political ardor and intent was largely contained at the site of the disaster; see: Holst-Warhaft (2000); and Graebner (1976).
22. The cemetery diagram, lists Nicolo's name for two Grave Sites, Row E, Grave Site 2 and Row L, Grave Site 3 (cemetery diagram, MMRS, Box 16).
23. There are many elements that produced this change, including recognitions of open systems, non-linearity, equifinality, multifinality, situational shaping of rules, roles, and actions, unprescribed networks, informal negotiations, emergent orders, and, as well with the influence of Gareth Morgan, metaphor, meaning, and 'agentic understanding'.
24. Mechanism can be understood as a natural or established process by which something takes place or is brought about.
25. Many of these problems relate to conceptualizations of authority; see Onuf and Klink (1989), for an insightful discussion of this matter.
26. Kiefer and Montjoy point out that

> only one thing disintegrated as fast as the earthen levees that were supposed to protect the city, and that was the intergovernmental relationship that is supposed to connect local, state and federal officials before, during and after such a catastrophe. (2006, 122)

For similar organizational observations on that disaster see Garnett and Kouzmin (2007).

27. In meetings with Ken Stottlemire, son of a West Virginia miner who worked on body recovery at the Farmington mine explosion in 1954, the author was informed that Ken's father confirmed the piecing together of body parts for some form of presentation above ground, reminiscent of procedures in the 1907 Monongah disaster.
28. For relevant theoretical issues, see Hall's (1997) discussion of 'mesodomain analysis'.

Disclosure statement

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